Mr. E. Ikkanda Wariar.—The President or the Council has the power to do it.

President. The Council has to do it. The report will be submitted through the direction of the Council and carried.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Is it not open to us to move that the report be submitted within a specified period? I do not wish to draw the attention of anybody. This is not a power to be exercised by the mover alone. What we want is the direction of the House and such direction is given by the motion.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Wariar.—I beg to move that the Committee may be directed to submit the report within three months from this date.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Sir, I second it.

The motion was put to the vote of the House and was carried.

President.—Now the next thing to be conformed to is what is laid down in clause 3 of the Standing Order 31 that the President shall nominate one of the members as Chairman. I nominate Mr. C. Achyuta Menon as Chairman. We have nothing more to do till the report is received. Now let us continue the discussion on the resolution regarding the Cosmopolitan Hostel.

The Establishment of a Cosmopolitan Hostel.

Mr. C. A. Kunjunni Raja.—Sir, I beg to move "*To insert the words 'residential quarters in' between 'separate' and 'students' and to add at the end 'with separate dining halls and kitchens for different communities.*"

Sir, at a particular stage in the development of civilisation, almost all human communities happen to be organised on the basis of status. Societies built on the old basis of status have almost invariably the authority or religion enlisted on behalf of their class division and caste institutions. With the help of the progressive forces of advancing civilisation, societies rise above the rigid control of settled status, and the very same religion is used to help on the advancement towards a fuller recognition of popular equality and personal freedom. But every step in the advancement of civilisation has to be in place as well as in times. Although the old order very often changes giving place to new, it does not follow that the former is always altogether wrong or that the latter altogether right so as to be incapable of any change for the better. In the time and place suited for the new order the old order would surely be very inappropriate and even harmful. Of course, this must hold true *vice versa* also.

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Consequently, anything like a too rapid displacement of the unwanted old order is almost, if indeed not quite, impossible, and it is, moreover, utterly undesirable. In India, as elsewhere, caste by birth came into vogue in society long before caste by quality could be thought of under the stimulating influence of the progressive advancement of politics or philosophy or religion. Baghavān Srī Krishna has taught in Bhagavad-Gīta that the system of four castes was created in accordance with the divisions of qualities and works. When the Gita was taught on the field of Kurukshētra, only the Hindu society composed of the four castes of Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras was taken into account. Since then the Hindus themselves have divided into several sub-divisions, and besides, our Indian society has at present to take into account the Christians, the Muhammadans, the Jews, the Jains and the Animists. If an sttempt is to be made to classify Indian society on the basis of qualities all true and sincere followers of religion having the predominance of Satva will be our Brahmins, those of all religionists who are in the service of the Government and who carry on professions of the same type will be our Kshatriyas; agriculture, cattle-breeding and commerce form the occupation of our Vaisyas to whatever religion he may belong and the rest who carry on physical labour and personal service form the Sudras in our midst. I may say without fear of contradiction that most of our Indians are either Vaisyas or Sudras, although a few may be Kshatriyas, while our Brahmin is negligibly absent. The protected aristocracy of each caste forgetting the responsibilities corres ponding to their privileges have degenerated into pampered pretenders. The Vedantic ideal of caste by quality and the spiritual equality of man to man were procalimed by Sankara, Ramanuja, Madhava, Chaitanya and a host of Hindu religious reformers, centuries before our time. But that distinction of man from man which is dependent upon the innate difference in men's temperamental qualities and endowments can never be wiped away altogether, so long as man continues to be a spirit that is clothed in flesh. That is why caste by birth and status has had to be historically universal among human communities and caste by quality cannot well be less widely current than the very humanity of man is among mankind.

If the question of a Cosmopolitan hostel with common dining rooms is approached from this point of view, as practical legislators we have to take into account our social sentiments and racial instincts, however unjustifiable they seem to be from a Vedantic point of view. May I ask the mover of this resolution to tell us fairly and frankly if any Ezhuva will marry a

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Pariah girl to-day? A little of sincere sympathy, and a little of mutual forbearance and good-will, becoming visible through a few well-aimed acts of common kindliness and helpfulness can soon bridge here all such great moral gulfs of human separation as are almost unbridgeable in lands which are swayed by other and less cosmopolitan civilisations. Think of the crusades and of the gate of the Moors in European History or think of the persecutions of the Christian Church in its mad and unbridled frenzy to enforce an impossible and meaningless religious conformity! Then bring to your mind how India has given shelter and support and encouragement to homeless Jews and Parsies, and has by the free offer of philosophic friendliness made in iconoclastic Islam notably calm and tolerant and philosophic. The contrast cannot but be striking and instructive. Conciliation rests on the recognition of mutual strength and work, and has a more becoming moral meaning than any kind of aggression and continued cat-fight. It is in this spirit that I move the amendments.

Even in civilised Madras in the Victoria Hostel where I had spent two years, the residential building alone is common whereas there are separate dining halls and kitchens for different sections of the population.

President.—Anybody to second the amendments proposed by Mr. C. A. Kunjunni Raja.

Mr. N. Padmanabha Menon.—Sir, I second the amendment.

Mr. T. A. Ramachandra Ayyar.—I oppose the resolution as a whole. Sir, thank God that the Hon'ble Member for the Ezhuva Constituency does not demand one common hostel for boys and girls. To me it appears the demand for a common hostel for boys and girls will not be more unreasonable than a demand for a common hostel for students of all the different communities.

President.—Should we not observe distinctions of sex?

Mr. T. A. Ramachandra Ayyar.—Nowhere in the world is distinction among people absent. It may be caste in one place, it may be class in another place. But in one form or another you have the distinction, and this distinction is bound to exist as long as the world exists. History does not know of a time when there was no distinction. It is the bounden duty of every government to respect the sentimental feelings of its subjects, even though such respect may cause some money. No Government will exist for 24 hours, if it ceases to respect

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the sentimental feelings of its subjects. The Hon'ble Member observed that the students would only be too glad to resort to the cosmopolitan ways of life, but their orthodox guardians were an impediment. I am sorry the Hon'ble Member forgot the fact that the students, while under the guardianship of their Karanavans, were in duty bound to respect their sentiments. Else their education would become an impossibility. It is a well-known fact that immature intellects in the plastic stage of their educational career, if allowed to have their own way, are sure to find themselves landed in trouble and disaster of a perilous nature. Further the food taken by the respective individuals has a good deal to do with their habits of cleanliness, and the Hon'ble Doctor Members in this very House, I am sure, will endorse my view. When such is the case, the vegetarians are quite certain to find their close company with non-vegetarians and persons addicted to alcoholic drinks repugnant.

Mr. C. A. Kunjunni Raja.—Are students addicted to alcoholic drinks?

Mr. T. A. Ramachandra Ayyar.—These and other considerations of a similar nature, scientific and otherwise, drive me to the necessity of opposing even having common residential quarters for pupils of different castes, communities and creeds.

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Sir, I rise to support the resolution as amended. I would say, Sir, that Government has no caste, and it is the duty of the Government to see that the difficulties of caste are minimised as much as possible. The Government is to provide a hostel for the convenience of the students of all castes, and that duty would end, if the Government would make a provision in the Hostel to suit the convenience of all and take note of the sentiments of the people with reference to their food and therefore, this amendment which advocates separate kitchens would suffice the purpose. It is not the function of the Government to cater to false sentiments, and Government must take note, and must also conform to the march of progressive times. I would suggest a separate kitchen and one separate dining hall for the cosmopolitans as well. That is to say, I propose separate kitchens and separate dining halls for Brahmins, Nayars, and Ezhuvas and Christians and so on and one more kitchen and dining hall for the purpose of cosmopolitans as well, so that the cosmopolitan amidst the Brahmin, the Nayar, Christian and the Ezhuva may sit and eat together, if they like.

Those students who have their own scruples in accordance

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with their communal observances may go to their particular dining hall so that their scruples may be respected.

President.—In order to carry out the principle, should we not have a common kitchen also?

Mr. A. B. Salem.—Let the students take food from any kitchen and whatever food they like. There is no harm, if he takes the food anywhere. I may be a vegetarian, and my brother may be a meat eater. And I may not like vegetable food. But we may have no objection to eat together and use the same dining hall for this purpose. This has been experimented in Madras. There may be men who judge for themselves, and they may have no objection to sit on the same table or just near one another to have their meals, either vegetable or non-vegetable as they choose.

President.—We have that in our ordinary garden party.

Mr. A. B. Salem. There is absolutely no difference, Sir, and there is no difficulty therefore. And I say that the cosmopolitan system may also be encouraged. We do not want to force them to do it. If they want, they may choose to resort to it. If they do not want, let them have their own way. Anyhow a Government hostel of this kind is essential in my opinion, and I support this resolution as amended by the Hon'ble Member.

The Council rose for the day at 5 p. m.

T. K. KRISHNA MENON,
Secretary to the Council.

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